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NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /142 W

----- 087086

R 131741Z MAR 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4573

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3784

USNMR SHAPE

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 1381

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: PERMREPS LUNCH DISCUSSION, MARCH 12

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

SUMMARY: AT LUNCH MARCH 12, PERMREPS DISCUSSED PLANS FOR REINFORCED NAC MARCH 14 AND HOPES FOR GOOD SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON EAST-WEST AND WEST-WEST ISSUES; POSSIBLE VISIT TO EUROPE IN APRIL BY PRESIDENT NIXON; DESIRABILITY OF AND VENUE FOR SPRING COUNCIL MINISTERIAL; AND CSCE CONSULTATIONS AT NATO HEADQUARTERS. SYG LUNS REPORTED ON RECENT VISITS TO BONN AND THE HAGUE. END SUMMARY.

REINFORCED NAC, MARCH 14

1. AT PERMREPS LUNCH 12 SYG LUNS STRONGLY HOPED MARCH 14 REINFORCED NAC WOULD DISCUSS IN DEPTH AND BREADTH BOTH EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND WEST-WEST RELATIONS. HE TRUSTED THAT U.S. PARTICIPANTS WOULD BE IN POSITION TO SKETCH OUT IN A GENERAL WAY THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. ON THE EVE OF SECRETARY KISSINGER'S LATE MARCH VISIT TO THE SOVIET UNION AND WOULD BE ABLE TO GIVE THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF ATTITUDES AND TRENDS IN MOSCOW THINKING. LUNS ALSO NOTED PRESIDENT POMPIDOU WAS NOW IN THE SOVIET UNION. IT WAS TOO EARLY TO EXPECT A REPORT ON THE FRENCH PRESIDENT'S VISIT, BUT LUNS HOPED THE FRENCH REPRESENTATIVE WOULD BE ABLE TO

DISCUSS MATTERS IN MUCH THE SAME MANNER AS U.S. AS TO WEST-WEST RELATIONS, LUNS SAID THE COUNCIL AND THE REINFORCED NAC IN PARTICULAR OFFERED A UNIQUE FORUM FOR DISCUSSIONS TO ELIMINATE MISUNDERSTANDINGS.

2. FRENCH REP (CARRAUD) AGREED REINFORCED NAC WOULD AFFORD A GOOD OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS EAST-WEST ISSUES BUT NOTED THAT ANY FRENCH PRESENTATION ON POMPIDOU VISIT WOULD BE SKETCHY. CONCERNING WEST-WEST RELATIONS, CARRAUD INQUIRED WHETHER A FULL DISCUSSION IN COUNCIL MIGHT NOT CREATE DIFFERENCES WITH CERTAIN MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE IN OTHER FORA.

3. LUNS RECALLED DR. KISSINGER'S STATEMENT IN THE NAC MARCH 4 AND SAID HE CONSIDERED IT INEVITABLE BUT ALSO USEFUL THAT THE PARTICIPANTS DISCUSS WEST-WEST MATTERS.

4. DANISH AMBASSADOR SVART EXPRESSED HOPE THAT PARTICIPANTS WOULD GENERALIZE THEIR PRESENTATIONS IN POLICY TERMS AND LOOK BEYOND THE IMMEDIATE OUTCOMES OF CSCE AND MBFR INTO THE FUTURE RELATIONS BETWEEN WESTERN STATES AND WESTERN ORGANIZATIONS WITH THOSE OF THE EAST.

5. BELGIAN PERMREP DE STAERCKE CONSIDERED IT ESSENTIAL THAT THERE BE A FULL AND OPEN AND FRANK DISCUSSION OF THE WEST-WEST RELATIONSHIP. THAT RELATIONSHIP PRECEDED DETENTE AND WAS FUNDAMENTAL TO IT. THE WEST-WEST RELATIONSHIP WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN ANY PRESENT OR FUTURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE STATES OF THE EAST AND THOSE OF THE WEST. DE STAERCKE AFFIRMED THAT THE ATLANTIC RELATIONSHIP CONSTITUTED THE "COMMON SALVATION" OF THE WEST AND IF THERE WERE TO BE A RADICAL CHANGE IN RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AMERICA AND EUROPE THE COURSE OF HISTORY WOULD CHANGE.

6. DE STAERCKE URGED THE ALLIES NOT TO ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THE NAC AS A COURT OF APPEAL ABOVE THE EC-9. HE ARGUED THAT NATO EXISTS AND MAKES A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO THE WELFARE OF EVERY ALLIED STATE. NO ONE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO DRAW A DISTINCTION BETWEEN

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THE "TOO PRESENT UNITED STATES" AS AGAINST THE "NON-EXISTENT EUROPE" TOWARD WHICH THE NINE ARE STRIVING.

7. BUSCH (NORWAY) AND CHORAFAS) (GREECE) EXPRESSED STRONG SUPPORT FOR AN OPEN, RATIONAL AND UNEMOTIONAL PRIVATE EXAMINATION OF WEST-WEST RELATIONSHIPS. CANADIAN PERMREP MENZIES SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD JUDGE THE SUCCESS OF THE REINFORCED NAC ON ITS ABILITY TO DEAL WITH THIS THEME. ONE HAD TO BEGIN TO LOOK AT THE EC-9 AS A CORPORATE GROUP AND TO CONSIDER THE WAY IN WHICH THAT CORPORATE GROUP WILL RELATE TO NATO. EIGHT OF THE NINE ARE NATO ALLIES AND EACH AS AN ALLY HAS A RESPONSIBILITY AS A SIGNATORY OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY; BUT THE EC-9 ENTITY HAS NO SUCH RESPONSIBILITY. THE EUROPEAN

COMMUNITY HAD NEVER DEFINED ITS RELATIONSHIP TO NATO NOR TO THOSE ALLIES WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF THE EC. MENZIES CALLED FOR A CAREFUL, REASONED EXAMINED OF PRESENT AFFAIRS AND FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS. THERE WAS NO REASON TO BELIEVE SUCH A DISCUSSION WOULD ENGENDER SUSPICIONS; NOR NEED IT DEAL WITH CONTROVERSIES WHICH SOMETIMES FIND THEIR WAY INTO THE PRESS.

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NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 USIA-15 TRSE-00

SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /142 W

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4574

SECDEF WASHDC

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8. MCAULIFFE (U.S.) SAID THE UNITED STATES LOOKED FORWARD TO

REINFORCED NAC DISCUSSION BY ALL ALLIES OF THEIR OBJECTIVES IN THE

CURRENT EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS, MBFR AND CSCE TO MENTION BUT TWO.

HE THOUGHT WASHINGTON REPRESENTATIVES WOULD BE PREPARED TO

DISCUSS THE ENTIRE SPECTRUM OF ALLIANCE RELATIONS RANGING FROM

BRIEFINGS, AND THE PROVISION OF INFORMATION, THROUGH THE EXCHANGE

OF INFORMATION AMONG ONE OR MORE ALLIES, UP TO AND INCLUDING GENERAL CONSULTATION ON POLICY ISSUES. U.S. REPRESENTATIVES

WOULD ALSO WELCOME A DISCUSSION OF HOW THE U.S. AND THE OTHER ALLIES MIGHT IMPROVE ALL THREE OF THESE STEPS WITH RESPECT TO ISSUES THAT AFFECT THE TREATY AREA AND ALSO WITH RESPECT

TO POLICY ON REGIONS OUTSIDE THE NATO TREATY AREA. THE U.S.

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WOULD ALSO BE PREPARED TO DISCUSS ISSUES UNDERLYING THE DISCUSSIONS WITH RESPECT TO THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION; BUT WOULD PREFER NOT TO DISCUSS THE TEXT OR POSSIBLE TEXTUAL CHANGES AS SUCH. FINALLY, MCAULIFFE SAID THAT THE U.S. PREFERRED THAT THE REINFORCED NAC BE TREATED IN A LOW KEY IN TERMS OF PUBLIC INFORMATION. THE NATO PRESS OFFICE MIGHT PREPARE A SHORT RELEASE FOR DISTRIBUTION AFTER THE MEETING BUT THERE SHOULD BE NO GREAT PUBLICITY.

CURRENT ALLIANCE RELATIONS AND POSSIBLE VISITS BY PRESIDENT NIXON

9. UK PERMREP (PECK) SAID THE BBC HAD REPORTED THAT CHANCELLOR BRANDT HAD INVITED PRESIDENT NIXON TO VISIT BONN IN LATE APRIL. DE STAERCKE INQUIRED WHETHER BRANDT HAD TENDERED THIS REPORTED INVITATION IN RESPONSE TO THE LETTER WHICH HE HAD ALLEGEDLY RECENTLY RECEIVED FROM PRESIDENT NIXON.

10. FRG PERMREP KRAPF SAID HE DID NOT KNOW OF ANY BRANDT INVITATION AND KNEW NO MORE ABOUT A LETTER THAN HE HAD READ IN THE NEWSPAPERS.

11. DE STAERCKE CONTINUED THAT THE WHOLE AFFAIR WAS MOST UNFORTUNATE. THERE WAS A CLEAR DISAGREEMENT PUBLICLY STATED IN THE PRESS BY THE FRENCH AUTHORITIES; IT NOW APPEARED OTHER MEMBERS OF THE EC-9 WERE BEING DRAWN INTO THIS BILATERAL DISPUTE; HE GREATLY FEARED THIS PUBLIC DISPLAY OF BAD TEMPER COULD ADVERSELY AFFECT THE ALLIANCE AND EVEN PREVENT OR DELAY PRESIDENT NIXON'S TRIP TO EUROPE.

12. LUNS REPLIED THAT WORK ON THE ATLANTIC DECLARATION WAS, TO THE BEST OF HIS UNDERSTANDING, STILL PROCEEDING SMOOTHLY AND TO THE SATISFACTION OF BOTH THE U.S. AND FRANCE. HE UNDERSTOOD FROM HIS MOST RECENT CONVERSATION WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT PRESIDENT NIXON STILL PLANNED TO VISIT EUROPE IN THE LATTER DAYS OF APRIL. LUNS ASKED MCAULIFFE TO CONFIRM THAT UNDERSTANDING AND MCAULIFFE DID SO.

SPRING MINISTERIAL MEETING

13. MCAULIFFE SAID THE U.S. NOW BELIEVES THERE WILL BE ENOUGH CONFIDENTIAL

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ISSUES TO WARRANT PLANNING FOR A REGULAR SPRING COUNCIL MINISTERIAL MEETING IN JUNE, QUITE APART FROM OTHER CEREMONIES AND SIGNATURE OF DECLARATIONS. BY MID-JUNE, THE TIME COULD BE RIPE FOR DISCUSSIONS OF SUCH MAJOR SUBJECTS AS MBFR AND CSCE. WASHINGTON'S PRELIMINARY THINKING WAS THAT THIS FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING SHOULD BE HELD IN BRUSSELS.

14. LUNS SAID HE FAVORED WASHINGTON AS THE VENUE. HARTOGH (NETHERLANDS) THOUGHT THERE WOULD BE TOO MANY HIGH-LEVEL MEETINGS IN BRUSSELS IN 1974. ITALIAN PERMREP CATALANO SAID ROME DID NOT LIKE THE PROSPECT OF HOLDING SERIES OF NATO MEETINGS, IN APRIL AND AGAIN IN JUNE. ERALP (TURKEY) AGREED AND SAID THIS SCHEDULE WOULD PLACE UNDUE BURDENS ON FOREIGN MINISTERS. HOWEVER, TURKEY WOULD GO ALONG WITH THE MAJORITY.

15. DE STAERCKE SAID THAT THE GOVERNMENT OF BELGIUM WOULD NOT WELCOME THE IDEA OF HOSTING ONE FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING IN BRUSSELS IN APRIL AND THEN A SECOND FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING IN JUNE. HE SAID THAT HE FELT PERSONALLY THAT THE JUNE MEETING, IF HELD, SHOULD BE HOSTED IN ANOTHER ALLIED CAPITAL.

GENEVA CSCE DELEGATIONS AT NATO

16. HARTOGH PROPOSED A MEETING OF HEADS OF CSCE DELEGATIONS OR OTHER REPRESENTATIVES FROM GENEVA AT NATO ON APRIL 22. HIS PROPOSAL WAS OPEN-ENDED AS TO ATTENDANCE AND LEVEL OF REPRESENTATION FROM GENEVA. MENZIES GAVE OTTAWA'S STRONG SUPPORT FOR THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, EVEN THOUGH FOREIGN MINISTERS AND HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE MEETING AT NATO HEADQUARTERS ON OR ABOUT APRIL 25.

17. DE STAERCKE SAID THE HEAD OF THE BELGIAN DELEGATION TO CSCE IN GENEVA WOULD NOT ATTEND A SESSION AT NATO BUT THAT HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ADEQUATELY REPRESENTED. ERALP SAID TURKEY FAVORED A CSCE DISCUSSION ON OR ABOUT APRIL 22.

18. CARRAUD SAID FRANCE SAW NO NEED FOR FURTHER HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS OF CSCE AT NATO SINCE IT MAY GIVE THE EASTERN SIDE THE IDEA THAT THE ALLIES ARE PROCEEDING AS A BLOC.

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SAJ-01 SS-20 NSC-07 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /142 W

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R 131741Z MAR 74

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4575

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 3786

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19. MENZIES REPLIED HE UNDERSTOOD THE EC-9 WOULD DISCUSS CSCE ON APRIL 18 AND 19. HE SAW NO VALIDITY IN THE ARGUMENT THAT ONE SHOULD AVOID THE BLOC-TO-BLOC APPROACH WHEN IT CAME TO NATO WHILE THE EC DEALT WITH CSCE INTENSIVELY AND AT A SENIOR LEVEL. HE CONTINUED THAT DISCUSSION OF CSCE SHOULD NOT BE LIMITED TO THE SENIOR POLITICAL COMMITTEE BUT BE HELD IN COUNCIL.

20. DE STAERCKE HAS A REPORT FROM THE BELGIAN DELEGATION IN GENEVA THAT THE U.S. SENIOR REPRESENTATIVE THERE IS OPPOSED TO FURTHER DISCUSSIONS OF CSCE ISSUES IN THE NAC. HE ASKED MCAULIFFE WHETHER THIS WAS ACCURATE. MCAULIFFE REPLIED THAT TO THE BEST OF HIS KNOWLEDGE IT WAS NOT. THE U.S. IS PLEASED WITH THE COOPERATION

AND CONSULTATION AMONG ALLIED DELEGATIONS AT GENEVA. IT IS NOT APPARENT TO THE U.S. THAT THERE IS A PRESSING NEED FOR HIGH-LEVEL DISCUSSIONS HERE AT NATO; BUT WE CERTAINLY ARE NOT OPPOSED TO THEM.

21. DE STAERCKE ASKED LUNS TO PURSUE THIS MATTER FURTHER, LOOKING TOWARD AN OPEN-ENDED MEETING OF THE NAC ON APRIL 22 TO DEAL WITH CSCE WITH APPROPRIATE REPRESENTATION FROM GENEVA OR ELSEWHERE.

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SYG'S TRIP TO BONN AND THE HAGUE

2. LUNS REPORTED HE HAD SPENT MARCH 4 AND 5 IN BONN AND MARCH 6 IN THE HAGUE. HE HAD HIGH PRAISE FOR THE FRG PLAN TO RESTRUCTURE ITS FORCES. THIS WORK WAS NOW GOING FORWARD WITH THE KNOWLEDGE OF PERMREPS AND ASSISTANCE OF NATO MILITARY AUTHORITIES. LUNS ADDED THAT CERTAIN WEAPONS AND EQUIPMENT TO BE REPLACED BY THE BUNDESWEHR WILL PROBABLY BE MADE AVAILABLE TO TURKEY AS MILITARY AID.

23. LUNS SAID THAT IN THE NETHERLANDS HE DISCUSSED DEFENSE MATTERS AND PARTICULARLY LACK OF DISCIPLINE AND POOR MORALE IN THE DUTCH ARMED FORCES. HE HAD POINTED OUT THAT DUTCH SOLDIERS ARE THE HIGHEST PAID CONSCRIPTS IN THE WORLD, RECEIVING EIGHT TIMES AS MUCH AS GERMAN DRAFTEES AND TWELVE TIMES AS MUCH AS THOSE IN FRANCE. HE TOLD THE NETHERLANDS AUTHORITIES THAT THE DISCIPLINE OF THE NETHERLANDS FORCES GIVES SERIOUS CONCERN TO THE OTHER ALLIES; AND JUST BY CHANCE, THE SYG OBSERVED, GENERAL GOODPASTER SAID MUCH THE SAME THING TO THE PRESS THE FOLLOWING DAY.

24. LUNS NOTED HE PLANNED SIMILAR VISITS SOON TO FRANCE, BELGIUM AND THE UK.
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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 11 JUN 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 13 MAR 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974ATO01381
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740381/abbryttj.tel
Line Count: 324
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 6
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 28 MAR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <28 MAR 2002 by collinp0>; APPROVED <04 JUN 2002 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PERMREPS LUNCH DISCUSSION, MARCH 12
TAGS: PFOR, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS
USNMR SHAPE
GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005